/69 cont./

861 155 157 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the development of the child, his interference is directed almost exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re- [846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn 856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child- 789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid 825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles). [197] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and probably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen 856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn- 178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so 615 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned. 856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with 789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot; I was told that it was a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong"; obviously [191] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira" used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. -- 856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are constantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 856 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral individuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treatment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak, embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the formation of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the information of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

2: Schaden--103 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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• 846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Brazilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. [171] The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the functions of the couvade [114] -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding [196] "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term odjépotá [827] used for the mother, and only the Mbiá consider her (odjeko)akú; the others do not have a special designation for the state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; [115] nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; [184] the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that [789] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions [114] of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

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846 [789] [114] that one is dealing primarily with an extension for the father of precautionary measures necessary for the safety of the newborn baby, is admissible. Through a kind of "participation," the father represents the child, and, to some extent, the mother as well. The danger threatening him is of the same nature as that hanging over the mother. There is probably no need to interpret his practices as having any meaning or function fundamentally different from the measures taken by his spouse. Concerning the 846 851 presumable "recognition of paternity, which has been pointed out as the social function of the masculine post-parturition -- with reason, perhaps, for other primitive groups --, we do not find it among the Guaraní, since the non-observance would not affect in any way the status of the father with reference to the baby, but simply its magical security and the health of the child. Therefore, the masculine post-parturition, instead of leading to social paternity, is, on the contrary, the result of it. And much less can it be said that the resguardo of the father has the function of conferring upon the man and husband paternal dignity within the group constellation; in this case there would be no reason to repeat the observances every time a child is born, but it would be enough to submit to them on the occasion of the birth of the first-born. There is apparently nothing among the Guaraní that would permit speaking of specific social functions inherent in the couvade.

846 842 /88/ Contrary to what people have tried to show with reference to other tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, for the Guaraní there is no indication of any direct relation between the masculine post-parturition and the ideas concerning conception that exist in the [827] tribal culture. Although it is acknowledged that male children come from the father and female children from the mother, I have not obtained the slightest reference to differences in the paternal or maternal behavior in the one case or the other. One 846 953 Mbüá informant from Rio Branco, for example, insisted on the necessity for the father to take precautions /se resguardar/ after the birth of a girl as well, "for otherwise the child will get sick."

846 178 [826] The fear of ridicule and criticism makes it difficult to obtain sufficiently reliable information about the couvade. At

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846 178 Bananal, for example, I was told that the danger existed only for the "first Guaraní who lived in the world, snakes bit, jaguars attacked, but here for us these things have not happened." And there is no doubt but that the progressive abandonment of the masculine post-parturition can be observed in many villages, particularly Ñandéva. It is an inevitable consequence of the new conditions of life.

846 The resguardo measures to which the parents of the newborn baby subject themselves -- and which extend, or should extend, for the man up to the falling off of the umbilical cord, while for the mother they are prolonged perhaps for more than two weeks (some Indians spoke to me of some twenty or thirty days) -- are only partially ritualized practices and therefore should not be identified without further ado as "birth ritual." It is principally a matter of staying in the house, of being bound [184] by the prohibition of activities and alimentary restrictions, the latter, so far as could be learned, more strict among the Mbüá, who in general pay more attention to dietary problems.

846 784 Thou shalt not work. This is the first commandment, particularly for the man, who must above all avoid the handling of iron tools and any iron implements; he does not work with ax or with scythe. The woman, for her part, stops doing heavy work: she does not wash clothes, she does not pound in the mortar, she does not work in the clearing. Thou shalt not walk through the forest -- is the second commandment; this one, to avoid the danger of the odjépotá, at least among the Ñandéva. Then there is a long list 846 of foods prohibited for the father and the mother. Among the [184] Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the following diet: "They may not eat: fat, tatu /a kind of armadillo/, paca, quati /Procyonidae/, pork, jacu, no fruit, maize, cooked mandioca; they may not use salt or coffee; they may eat: beef, chicken, roasted mandioca; drinks: only 'chá de açúcar' /sugar tea/, boiled honey." Certain /89/ informants made different enumerations, considering dangerous or "heavy" certain foods that others indicated as harmless. Everybody, however, insisted on the danger of certain meats from hunting, particularly tatu. -- Another commandment refers to

2: Schaden--106 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/89 cont./ --Another commandment refers to wakefulness: father and mother should sleep as little as possible. For the Mbüá there is, furthermore, the necessity of sexual abstinence during the couvade, probably also for the Kayová and Ñandéva; it is true that Marçal de Souza told me he did not know of any special precautions in this respect.

In their conjunction, the precautionary measures appear indispensable for the child's well-being, including the diet of father and mother. It is not the father who gets sick in case he does not respect the dietary restrictions, but the newborn child; and the mother's diet affects her and the child to whom she gives suck. The prohibition against disturbing steel likewise is for the child's benefit. The Ñandéva from Araribá told me: "The father should not disturb steel, because otherwise the child's navel will not remain dry; the navel is ruined, because the steel is very strong." And as long as the navel is not healed, the mother, in turn, should avoid working with scissors, needle, and any other iron implements. (Among the Mbüá the woman is allowed to sew during the period of resguardo.)

The threat that hangs over the parents is that of the odjépotá; that is why they should stay at home and not sleep much. The ones who "give the odjépotá "are the Arco da Velha /rainbow/ and "other beasts," such as toads, snakes, and so on, animals in which psychoanalysts would certainly tend to discover some sexual symbolism. Odjépotá is the sad lot awaiting every man who, not respecting the prescription to stay at home when his wife was in childbed, could not resist the temptation to go out hunting. The first animal that he meets seems to him to be human, attracts him, and he becomes odjépotá; in the words of an informant from Bananal, "the beast gets mixed up with the man and the man remains living with the beast for the rest of his life."

Concerning the danger of the odjépotá of the father, among the Ñandéva there is a myth about a man who, disrespecting the observances, goes off to the forest, where he meets a tadjatsú (queixada /white-lipped peccary/) in the form of a beautiful woman, whom he accompanies and who takes him into the midst of the queixadas. He remains living amidst the queixadas, taking

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846 them all for people. The story is analogous to that of the odjépotá
825 of the anta, which refers to the resguardo of the young girl who is
773 menstruating.
[881]
846 The change in the conditions of life, along with the desire
178 to avoid criticism and mockery on the part of foreign individuals,
brings about the decline of the masculine post-parturition. As it
is not always possible to interrupt the work in the clearing until
the umbilical cord falls off, that is, for a week or more, they
stay at home only two or three days, /90/ and they no longer take
the danger of the odjépotá so seriously either. The fear seems to
[881] continue quite actively, however, with regard to the menstruating
girl. Concerning the maternal resguardo, it seems to be subject
rather to augmentation, possibly as a consequence of acculturation.
846 Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was told that the mother who,
178 instead of staying at home, goes out into the forest is exposed to
825 the same dangers of enchantment that hang over the girl in her
puberal eclosion. A man-beast would attract her and would not
[826] leave her for many years; she would be "hairy like an animal,"
odjépotá (victim of sexual enchantment), and dangerous for other
human beings. It seems to be a matter of a process of the trans-
ference of beliefs to an analogous situation because of a previous
change in behavior.

881 There are few aspects of his culture about which the Kayová
maintains such rigorous secrecy as he does concerning the practices
[609] that integrate the initiation of the boys. It is affirmed that up to
[304] now they have not allowed any foreigner to be present at these
ceremonies, whose culminating point is the piercing of the lower
[178] lip. The Ñandéva nowadays do not know the practice, while the
[184] Mbüa do not take it as the center of ceremonial elaboration.

It is much easier to obtain information about the observances
that mark the biological maturation of the feminine element.
While the initiation of the boys constitutes an event of profound
religious significance, that of the girls is, in essence, reduced
to a certain number of prescriptions of "resguardo," of prophylaxis,
in order to prevent the menstruating girl from exposing herself to

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881 They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
882 today fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[181] (There is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbaraká. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
75 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times: otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupí with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

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the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

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the fourth is related to the apykâ; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

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One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of these being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the fiandeirú who directs the kunumí-pepý, as well as the yvyráídjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

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many other regions of the globe (3).

3. /From p. 149 of the original source./ "... in some primitive tribes, such as, for example, the Australian aborigines, it is the man who conceives the child, dreaming about it and telling the dream to his wife. Thus in this way a child is occasionally born to them, for which the woman only performs the function of hatcher, hatching the egg that has arrived owing to the good graces of the husband" (Montagu, 1952). And thus many examples.

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According to Poýdjú from Arariba, nowadays many Ñandéva already admit that the children are "made by the father," but "the old belief is that they are sent by Ñanderuvutsú and Ñanderykeý." But there is also always recognized -- he tells me -- the need for sexual relations for conception. And they were necessary simply because Ñanderykeý wanted it to be so. Therefore, the
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child is sent by the gods. The father receives it in a dream, tells the dream to the mother, and she becomes pregnant. When the mother conceives without the father's having dreamed, it is because the ayvú(kué) (soul) had already been looking for the woman in order to be born or reborn by her. The woman, too, may have the dream, either of a boy or of a girl, but being a boy, the child is considered the son of the father, that is, he came from Ñanderú(vutsú) and Ñanderykeý to the father. The male child is a child of the father, the female /112/ one is of
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the mother. This in spite of the fact that within the structure of the family consanguinity is considered bilateral and not bilinear and that the father, for example, is subject to couvade even when a daughter is born to him (4).

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4. /From p. 149 of the original source./ In spite of the different impression gained by the

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, refraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
842 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
775 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
756 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
789 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
851 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
177 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
118 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
551 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of
77 Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine namesake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
553 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp.
851 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."